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McCARTHY'S RECORD

By Willard Edwards

During the next four or more weeks, the faults and virtues of en. McCarthy (R., Wis.) will be violently debated. Then a vote ·ill be taken on whether he should be officially reprimanded for ɔugh and contemptuous language and conduct in his role as hairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee. ive lame duck Senators, repudiated by the voters at the polls, ·ill participate in that vote. Two others, who are ending their ·rms by resignation, will cast their last votes as Senators. Five f the seven are opponents of McCarthy.

The record of McCarthy's accomplishments or lack of them will e a weighty factor in the debate. This article will attempt a ·ctual review of his achievements as chief of the Senate's principal ıvestigating unit.

McCarthy has been labeled by his enemies as a headline hunter, ısatiable for personal publicity, whose sensational probes have ever exposed a Communist or spy. His defenders have claimed ı his behalf that he has performed valuable services for his ɔuntry, alerting public opinion to the menace of Communism, ·ying bare the subversive infiltration of civilian and military overnment.

The following table compares the work of the McCarthy Investiating Subcommittee, in terms of witnesses and hearings, with its perations under Democratic control in 1952:

	(Dem. control) 1952	(Rep. control) 1953	(Rep. control) 1954
ıays of hearings	26	169	30
ıumber of witnesses	44	541	112

The Subcommittee was immobilized for seven months of 1954 by ıvestigations of charges against Chairman McCarthy and his staff.

Has McCarthy failed to uncover a single Communist or subersive as charged by his opponents?

The answer is provided from official reports of action taken by overnment department and defense industries after the McCarthy ubcommittee's investigations have disclosed evidence indicating mployees are potential sources of information to the enemy.

The official decisions reveal the following:

Army, government, and defense industry employees discharged, r suspended as security risks, or who resigned, after McCarthy ıvestigative hearings 65

Army employees suspended but restored to duty after clearance f charges involving loyalty and security 15

Net total 50

The record supplies another figure:

Witnesses not now in government employ or defense plants (and ıerefore not subject to discharge or suspension) who invoked the ıh Amendment, pleading possible self-incrimination, when asked bout Communist activities or espionage 64

Reprinted from the *Chicago Tribune* of November 7, 1954, by special permission from that paper. Mr. Edwards has covered the McCarthy story for the *Tribune* in Washington for the past four years.

By legal standards, demanding proof of guilt beyond a reasonable doubt, none of the 114 individuals listed in these two tables can be branded a Communist, traitor, or spy. The verdict of public opinion will classify them as subversives whose activities are a menace to national security and whose exposure has resulted in protection to that security.

The above figures cover the 1953-1954 period when McCarthy was Chairman of the Senate investigating group. He was active for only 14 months, having been immobilized since March, 1954, by two investigations of his activities, the latter resulting in recommendations for censure on the grounds of Senatorial misconduct.

From 1950 to 1952, McCarthy was a one-man investigator. He produced a list of 81 security risks in the State Department, naming among others Owen Lattimore, Philip C. Jessup, John Carter Vincent, Haldore Hanson, John Stewart Service, Oliver E. Clubb, and Edward G. Posniak. All of the 81 persons on McCarthy's list have since left the government's employ by dismissal or resignation. The last State Department employee, John P. Davies Jr., was fired by State Secretary Dulles Friday. The cleaning out of a nest of homosexuals in the State Department was mainly due to the investigative efforts of McCarthy in this earlier period.

But Senate debate properly will be concentrated on McCarthy's operations as an Investigating Subcommittee Chairman since January, 1953. This record reveals McCarthy as one of the most active chairmen in Senate history. In 1953, he held 169 executive and open hearings and questioned 541 witnesses. This compared with 26 days of hearings and 44 witnesses during 1952 when the Subcommittee was under Democratic control.

CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS: Several McCarthy investigations, which attracted little publicity because they did not involve Communism angles, exposed waste and inefficiency in government and resulted in savings of millions of dollars to the taxpayers. McCarthy investigated inefficiency and waste in the Voice of America as well as subversion in that propaganda arm of the United States.

He probed Communism in defense plants, resulting in the suspension or discharge of 22 employees. Investigators have accumulated evidence involving an additional 155 workers but the stop-order on the McCarthy Subcommittee, sponsored by the Democratic minority, has prevented questioning of these individuals under oath.

The least publicized phase of McCarthy's accomplishments may constitute his most lasting achievement. It is unquestioned that his investigations have forced changes in military policy which have tightened up security, made Communist infiltration of the Army more difficult, and put additional obstacles in the path of potential spies and traitors.

President Eisenhower, Defense Secretary Wilson, and Army Secretary Stevens admitted as much. Last March 3, the President confessed that the Army had made "serious errors" in handling the case of Maj. Irving Peress who was promoted, given special immunity from duty outside the United States, and finally given an honorable discharge with the full knowledge of the Army that he had been identified as a Communist organizer and had pleaded possible self-incrimination in refusing to answer the charge.

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Secretary Stevens also announced he had ordered procedures corrected to avoid another Peress case in the future. The Defense Department, as a result of McCarthy's investigations, has adopted changes in policy governing the military personnel security program.

It has ordered that loyalty oaths be administered to servicemen before, not after, enlistment or induction. It has revised regulations and procedures to make certain that no Army officer, as in the Peress case, may be commissioned or advanced in grade, while he is under investigation as a security risk. An absolute bar has been set up to prevent favorable action, including promotion, being taken in the case of an officer who refuses to disclose his past record in connection with subversive organizations.

It took four investigations by McCarthy to bring about this improvement in procedures. In addition to his exposure of the Peress case, McCarthy questioned Dr. Marvin Belsky, Pvt. David Linfield, and Sidney Rubenstein. Belsky served as a private in the Army after being denied a commission. He invoked the 5th Amendment on Communism when questioned. Linfield was retained in the Army after pleading the same privilege against possible self-incrimination on Communist activities.

The case of Rubenstein provoked the indignation of the McCarthy Subcommittee members. He admitted he had been drawn into Communist activities as a teen-ager but had severed connections at the age of 17. Drafted four years later, he freely told of his youthful record and pleaded to be allowed to sign the loyalty affidavit. The Army refused him the honorable discharge which it had given to Maj. Peress, who refused to sign the same affidavit. Rubenstein got a general discharge, a grade lower than an honorable discharge.

These glaring inconsistencies, which would never have come to light except for the McCarthy inquiries, led to a general revamping of Army policy and procedures in regard to security and loyalty. The McCarthy investigations of defense plants led to the adoption of a new policy by several companies which speeded the departure of a large number of security risks from their establishment.

These corporations hitherto had been helpless to fire employees, suspected of subversive connections, even though these workers had access to restricted areas where American defense weapons were being secretly manufactured. Military Intelligence and FBI reports on the activities of such men could not legally be presented to justify their dismissals.

But hearings held by the McCarthy subcommittee resulted in the summoning of potential spies and saboteurs to answer under oath the charge that they were Communist agents. When the witness refused to deny the truth of such a charge, pleading that he might thereby involve himself in prosecution for a crime, a prima facie case was established of his subversive tendencies.

The Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Buffalo, N. Y., on Aug. 20, 1954, announced a policy of suspending employees who invoked the 5th Amendment at these congressional hearings. Ten days later, local 1581, CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, at Westinghouse adopted a policy of requiring stewards to sign non-Communist affidavits after the McCarthy Subcommittee had presented evidence concerning workers in the plant.

The General Electric Company, with headquarters at Schenectady, N. Y., had earlier adopted the same policy of suspending workers who invoked the 5th Amendment before the McCarthy subcommittee. The International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation adopted the same policy as a result of hearings by McCarthy into subversion at the Federal Telecommunications Laboratories in New Jersey which performs secret work for the Army Signal Corps.

Among those suspended and subsequently discharged, und this policy, in the General Electric Company at Lynn, Mass., we the following: Robert Goodwin, Nathaniel Mills, Henry C. Arc deacon, Donald H. Morrill, and Witulad Piekarski. Suspende with action on discharge pending were Victor Bolys, Alexand Gregory and Theodore Pappas.

Suspended at the Schenectady plant of the General Electr Company were Sidney Friedlander, Robert P. Northrop, Arth L. Owens, Joseph A. Gebhardt, Emanuel Fernandez, Gordon Be grave, Dewey F. Brashear and Louis Passikoff.

In the General Electric plant at Fitchburg, Mass, the followir were suspended: Joseph O. Mattson, Waino E. Suoko and Wair S. Nisula. Diantha Hoag was suspended at Westinghouse, Buffal

FT. MONMOUTH: The most important investigation conducte by McCarthy during his Chairmanship was that involving potenti espionage at Fort Monmouth, N. J. This is the headquarters the secret radar laboratories of the Army Signal Corps.

This inquiry led McCarthy into conflict with Stevens and tl Pentagon and precipitated hearings before a special committ headed by Sen. Mundt (R., S.D.). The committee eventual found that Stevens had improperly sought to terminate the Fo Monmouth investigation. It also found that McCarthy's staff ha improperly sought favors for Pvt. G. David Schine, a former M Carthy staff consultant, although it exonerated the Chairman personal blame.

The Fort Monmouth inquiry has been called a "hoax an fraud" in the anti-McCarthy press and statements made that tl investigation never disclosed a spy or a Communist in the Arm post. A review of the evidence gathered during many months probing will be presented here.

Fort Monmouth is one of the nation's most vital security center It houses three research centers, dealing with electronic warfa counter-measures, radar, nucleonics, thermionics, and related su jects. In these laboratories are developed the defense devic designed to anticipate the effect of an enemy atomic atta upon the United States.

From the viewpoint of the average American citizen, securi at this Army Signal Corps installation is more vital than securi at the Los Alamos atomic testing grounds. In the latter, weapo are developed to attack the enemy. In the former, are develope those instruments of defense calculated to protect us from tl enemy's weapons.

A high security officer told the Subcommittee that if just o Communist, willing to sell out the United States to Russia, w employed at Fort Monmouth, the Soviet Union had access to eve electronic counter-measure emanating from American genius.

Fort Monmouth was an early target of Russian espionage. F 14 years, the Army has been seeking to check leaks of informatic from this center to enemy agents. A total of 500 persons has bec investigated in the post since 1940. Many months before tl United States was brought into World War II, Military Intelligen was disturbed by reports from overseas which indicated Russ was obtaining data on American experiments with electron devices.

In 1940, a technician named Julius Rosenberg became a Sign Corps employee. He kept his job five years. Not until years lat was he to achieve world notoriety as the first American spy ev to receive a peace time death sentence and die in the electric cha with his wife. He was a Signal Corps inspector and had access Fort Monmouth and its affiliated installations.

A description of Rosenberg's activities in and about Fort Mo mouth was given to the subcommittee in sworn testimony by Dav Greenglass, now serving a 15 year sentence in the federal pen tentiary at Lewisburg, Pa., for conspiracy to commit espionag Greenglass was a member of the Rosenberg atomic spy ring wh

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nfessed his guilt. His testimony aided in the conviction of the ›senbergs. He was a brother of Ethel Rosenberg.

Greenglass testified that Rosenberg told him he stole the prox-ıity fuse, a device attached to bombs, shells and war rocket ads which detonates explosives without coming into actual ntact with the target. This theft took place at the Emerson Radio ›mpany, one of the plants affiliated with the Signal Corps head-'arters at Fort Monmouth. Greenglass testified that Rosenberg nded the proximity fuse, then a guarded American secret, to a ıssian agent.

Rosenberg, according to Greenglass, also stole top secret docu-›nts dealing with electronics data and as late as 1947 obtained ta concerning an electronic computer from an agent in the gnal Corps. This device is essential to the manipulation of inter-ptor guided missiles which knock out an enemy's guided missiles tected by radar and its course predicted by the computer.

When Rosenberg left the Signal Corps in 1945, Greenglass testi-d, he retained his Signal Corps contacts. Greenglass and Rosen-rg formed an engineering company as a "cover" and Rosenberg ade trips to Signal Corps installations which he told his partner re for espionage purposes. Greenglass named members of the ›senberg spy ring who remained with the Signal Corps after the aster spy left. Among them were Joel Barr, who fled the country 1950, and Mrs. Vivian Glassman. Joseph Levitsky, another gnal Corps employee, secured a transfer to the Federal Telecom-unications Laboratory, Nutley, N. J., with Rosenberg as a ference. The laboratory is engaged solely in electronics work r the government, operates under the same secret conditions that evail at Fort Monmouth and is, in effect, a branch of the super-›ret radar laboratories. Mrs. Glassman and Levitsky were estioned by the subcommittee. Both refused to testify when ked whether they were spies.

The picture of potential espionage was brought up to February, '53, with the questioning of Levitsky. He had resigned in that ›nth and when he was asked whether he had sought to enlist ies at Fort Monmouth since that date, he refused to answer, serting an answer might involve him in prosecution for a crime.

Four witnesses then identified Harry Hyman, an FTL worker, a man who attempted to recruit them as Communists in the ›nt. He was asked whether he had been, and still was, a Soviet y. His only answer was a snarl that Sen. McCarthy was a ascist." Additional evidence revealed that Hyman had been constant touch with employees at Fort Monmouth, the Navy air cket test station, the Air Force transportation control depot, and › secret Army testing ground at Aberdeen, Md.

FTH AMENDMENT WITNESS: McCarthy then brought the idence of potential espionage to the very date (November, 1953) the hearing. He questioned Mrs. Ruth Weiner Levine, a divor-›, American born. Until the day she received a subpoena to ·tify, Mrs. Levine had been a trusted employee for 10 years of the deral Telecommunications Laboratories, with duties so confi-ntial that security officers barred their description. She had top ›ret clearance, a privilege reserved to a small and exclusive oup of employees which gave her access to information in the ghest category of secrecy in electronics for the Army Signal ›rps and other government agencies.

Material rated as top secret by the military is defined as informa-›n which, if improperly disclosed, could lead to war against the ·ited States by a foreign government; defeat planned operations war by the United States; or cause a loss of scientific or ›hnical advantage of such importance as to affect materially the ıtcome of a war of major importance.

Mrs. Levine was asked whether she was a Communist party ember and engaged in a conspiracy to commit espionage. She fused to answer, asserting the privilege against self-incrimina-›n.

This woman had been subjected to rigid screening in 1950 by Military Intelligence but nothing was found to connect her with subversive activities. Only the power of the congressional subpoena, which required her to testify under oath, had found her out. Before she appeared before the McCarthy subcommittee, she resigned. Except for the McCarthy investigation, she presumably would today be working in one of the nation's most secret electronics laboratories, with free access to the nation's radar secrets.

Additional witnesses who had worked with the Army Signal Corps at Fort Monmouth or its affiliated laboratories refused to testify when asked about Communist activities. They included Sidney Glassman, Ezekiel Heyman, Eleanor Hutner, Leo Kantrowicz, Louis Kaplan, Frank M. McGree, Ernest Pataki, and Joseph Percoff.

Under legal standards, none of these witnesses could be convicted as a Communist conspirator. The crime of espionage is not only one of the most difficult to detect but one almost impossible to prosecute in court. The Rosenbergs were not sentenced to death for espionage, but for conspiracy to commit it and the testimony of a fellow conspirator was essential to obtain a guilty verdict.

Critics of the Fort Monmouth investigation have assailed McCarthy for not uncovering legally provable espionage. McCarthy has replied that he will let the American public decide whether the refusal of an employee to deny spying should justify a verdict of not guilty.

In addition to the presence of potential spies, the investigation disclosed the wholesale disappearance of secret documents. A security investigation at the Army post in 1952 revealed hundreds of missing plans, unaccounted for to this day.

The Pentagon-McCarthy hearings revealed that the FBI, from 1949 onward, had been warning of security risks at Fort Monmouth. Not until the McCarthy investigation started in 1953 did the Army suddenly take interest in reports of subversion. From Aug. 19, 1953, to Oct. 27, 1954, the Army has suspended a number of security risks at Fort Monmouth, ranging in rank from technicians to top rank scientists.

Fifteen have been cleared and restored to duty with full security privileges. Each time such action was taken, the Pentagon issued a press release, identifying the individual, and the anti-McCarthy press gave full publicity to the fact that another "McCarthy victim" had been exonerated.

No publicity was ever given to the fact that six of those suspended were discharged as loyalty-security risks after full and exhaustive hearings before regional loyalty boards and the top screening board of the Pentagon. These men, unidentified, were quietly dropped from the Army Signal Corps rolls. In addition, three of those suspended resigned rather than face investigation. This made nine workers, who presumably would still be laboring in the radar laboratories, if the McCarthy investigators had not initiated their investigation. Another 13 of those suspended have been put back to work but removed from areas where they would have access to secret material. Their cases still are under investigation.

During the Pentagon-McCarthy hearings, Secretary Stevens and other military witnesses admitted that if McCarthy exposed one potential spy at Fort Monmouth, he would have performed a public service.

The Ft. Monmouth Clean-Up (Aug. 19, 1953 to Oct. 27, 1954).

Discharged as security risks	6
Resigned under investigation	3
Suspended and still under investigation	6
Suspended but cleared and restored to duty	15
Suspended but restored to duty in non-secret areas pending further investigation	13

All discharges and suspensions were ordered by the Army after the McCarthy investigation started.

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EXPOSURE OF WASTE: Other accomplishments of McCarthy may be summarized as follows:

Voice of America

Evidence revealed waste and mismanagement of such magnitude as to suggest deliberate sabotage or hopeless incompetence. The chief engineer of the Voice of America, George Herrick, was discharged after the hearings established that two huge radio transmitter towers, designed to broadcast United States propaganda to the far corners of the earth, were located in areas obviously unsuitable for such projects. Both projects were canceled as a result of the investigation and an estimated saving of 18 million dollars effected for the taxpayers.

An inquiry into Communist influence in the United States information service libraries overseas revealed more than 30,000 books either written by known Communists or Communist sympathizers or containing obvious pro-Soviet or Communist propaganda. State Secretary Dulles subsequently ordered the removal of books by Communist authors as conflicting with the purpose of libraries to "promote better understanding of America abroad" and "to combat and expose Soviet Communistic propaganda."

State Department Files

An investigation revealed that State Department files, dealing with foreign service personnel, under the system set up under the Truman Administration, had been stripped of derogatory information concerning employees. They were so scattered through the department that it was impossible to locate a complete file on any one employee or former employee.

When an employee was up for promotion, the promotion panel was unaware of information indicating he was a security risk. Employees testified that certain information was burned or otherwise destroyed in defiance of security regulations. Investigations of the FBI were hampered by these practices. The investigation resulted in a new system of file security with the State Department's administrator of security acknowledging that the McCarthy hearings had been "very helpful" in bringing about corrective steps.

The subcommittee's investigation revealed that more than two billion dollars worth of goods passed between Communist China and our western Allies since June, 1952. This trade had increased after Chinese Communist troops entered the Korean war. Chairman McCarthy secured an agreement with Greek owners of 327 vessels, totaling more than 3.5 million tons of ocean shipping, to remove voluntarily their vessels from actual or potential trade with China. President Eisenhower and Dulles characterized this deal as in the public interest.

Government Printing Office

The subcommittee inquiry resulted in findings that security risks, including persons with impressive records of Communist activity, were employed in the Government Printing Office which handles 250,000 pieces of secret and classified printing matter annually. The Army, Navy, Air Force and State Department use the GPO for reproduction of restricted and confidential material. Although precautions were taken to maintain security by printing this matter piecemeal in separate areas of the printing plant, testimony revealed that a whole document became available to potential spies in the assembling section.

Edward Rothschild, employed in this assembly room, admitted he had access to this highly classified material up to the moment he was called before the Subcommittee. Asked whether he was currently a spy and a member of the Communist conspiracy, he refused to answer, pleading possible self-incrimination under the 5th Amendment.

The investigation developed that the FBI had forwarded repo on Rothschild, collected from more than 40 informants, but loyalty board had ignored him. Members of the board bas their attitude on a Truman Administration rule holding that m membership in the Communist party was not a bar to empl ment. The exposure of Rothschild, who had retained his job years despite the numerous FBI reports on him, was followed his removal from his post in the assembly room.

The McCarthy investigation resulted in a complete revampi of the security system in the GPO. The loyalty board panel w removed and replaced by new personnel. Security regulatic were overhauled and strengthened. Fifteen employees were moved from "sensitive" posts because of charges of Commur activity. Seventeen employees were suspended and the cases of others were referred to the FBI for investigation.

OTHER ACCOMPLISHMENTS: The subcommittee's investi tion exposed the operations of government officials in 1944 securing the delivery to the Soviet Union of currency plates, i paper and other paraphernalia for the printing of occupati currency. This unprecedented action was taken over the objecti of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

The transfer of these plates, together with the failure to establ any system of accountability, resulted in a financial drain up public funds to the estimated amount of 255 million dollars. T United States was forced to redeem hundreds of millions of doll of occupation currency, in excess of the amount printed by t government for use in Germany, but was never able to establ how much of this currency was printed by the Soviet Un with our plates.

Testimony revealed that the Soviet spy ring in Washingt headed by Nathan G. Silvermaster, engineered this deal with assistance of Harry Dexter White, then assistant to Treasu Secretary Morgenthau. Other treasury officials, including Har Glasser, William L. Ullmann and Frank Coe, aided in the ope tion. Silvermaster, Glasser, Ullmann and Coe invoked the Amendment on grounds of self-incrimination when questioned the subcommittee concerning their participation in this Commu plot.

The Subcommittee was the first investigative agency to exp the murder, torture, starvation and inhuman treatment giv captured American personnel by North Korean and Chinese Co munist troops during the Korean war. Twenty-nine witnes including 23 survivors or eyewitnesses of Communist atrociti added their evidence to affidavits, statements, photographs, a official war records. A definite record was established of crin against the Geneva Convention. Approximately two-thirds American servicemen, taken prisoner, died from acts of barbari the subcommittee found. The massacre of large groups w revealed.

The Subcommittee conducted an almost unnoticed investigati of inefficiency and waste in the administration of the Departm of Health, Education and Public Welfare which annually distr utes more than 1.2 billion dollars in aid to the blind, aged, perm nently disabled and dependent children.

The inquiry revealed that an estimated 50 million doll annually were being lost to the government because of failure audit the eligibility of aid recipients. Social workers were fou to be making practically no check on the legitimacy of claims a thousands of illegal claimants were collecting sums at the expe of the taxpayer. The Subcommittee recommended the hiring about 50 qualified accountants to review claims which would m possible savings of millions of dollars and bring about bet administration of the federal assistance program.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* — *Contributing Editors:* FRANK CHODOROV, WILLIS J. BALLINGER

Vol. XI, No. 45 — Wednesday, November 10, 1954 — Washington, D. C.

California Story: The saga of Goodwin Knight, victorious Governor of California, is commencing. Reports of his aspirations for the GOP Presidential nomination appear in two influential newspapers of the country (*New York Times*, November 7; *Chicago Tribune*, November 8). Cameras are being focused on him, editors are planning feature stories, GOP committeemen are discussing the new figure. We happen to know that the board of one foundation is considering a proposal to invite Knight to speak at a banquet soon to be given in Washington — thus offering this inquisitive city a chance to look him over.

For the politicos and political observers know that Knight will control one of the largest blocs of delegates at the national nominating convention two years hence. They compare his triumphant eagles to the lowered standards of the now beaten "liberal" GOP state machines of the East — the "boss" organizations which steam-rollered the popular demand for Taft in 1952, thus easing Ike into the nomination. Hence, seeking hope for the GOP in 1956, observers talk of Knight.

Canvassing comment (by long distance phone) across the country, we found Governor Lee of Utah recalling with approval how Knight (like Lee) had spurned UN day in California. In Nebraska, former Congressman Howard Buffett said to us: "The salvation of the anti-socialist element in the GOP lies in leadership in the West, not the East. It is rather ironical that California, long labelled as the homeland of strange radical causes, should produce Governor Knight, the No. 1 conservative leader in America today." And in Chicago, former Congressman Samuel Pettengill told us: "The election reveals the eclipse of the Dewey 'liberal' wing of the GOP, exemplified by the crash of the big machines in New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and New Jersey. Speaking of Governor Knight of California — it looks as if 'the sun rises in the west'."

A Legend Passes: Even Ike apparently realized for a few hours that he had taken a beating. Then the Palace Guard started the new refrain — "he saved us from a Democratic landslide." But many here discount this theme as "a barrage to cover a retreat"; they can't blink unpleasant facts, such as:

No President ever went so far in trying to win an off-year election, and with such dismaying results. History shows this. In 1910, the William Howard Taft regime suffered a set-back, which started the first big split in the GOP. But, even then, the Republicans lost only one House. In 1918, Woodrow Wilson's Democrats lost both Houses; but Wilson limited his intervention in the campaign of that year to one unfortunate statement. In 1930, Hoover (long labelled a symbol of GOP defeat) saw Republican majorities retained in both Houses (although they lost control of the lower House within 12 months as a result of deaths and by-elections). The Democrats lost both Houses in 1946, but Truman did not put up a fight. He did campaign actively in 1950; and his party kept power in both Houses.

On the "whirlwind air tour," Ike visited four states, seeking to elect Cooper of Kentucky, Ferguson of Michigan, Warburton of Delaware and Bender of Ohio. Only Bender won. But how? His opponent, Senator Burke had committed the imprudence of promising to vote for censure of Senator McCarthy. The *New York Times* correspondent in Ohio reported estimates that possibly 10,000 to 15,000 voters for that reason voted against the Democrat. Bender's lead was about 13,000.

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Hence, the legend of Ike's alleged great popularity — so far as it has any political meaning is concerned — is beginning to fade. Actually, it never had much real substance. He won 55 per cent of the popular vote in 1952 — which is far below the landslide percentages of Harding, Coolidge, Hoover (1928) and Roosevelt. But the Palace Guard went to work to generate a myth, fashioned to its own purposes.

Actually the "popularity" of Eisenhower resembles somewhat that enjoyed by a French president, whom his people rarely criticize and whom they revere as a national symbol, wholly divorced from political considerations. In justice to the amiable Ike, that is probably the only role he'd like to play, for his distaste of politics is well known.

Therefore, it's rather cruel to hear returning GOP congressmen say that "the Eisenhower jacket has no coattails", or that "Ike's coattails were billed as a magic carpet, but it slipped." Therefore, fair-minded Republicans would rather talk of someone else in the party — like Knight, for instance — who might serve as a real political leader. For they face the grim fact that Ike possesses no irresistible appeal to voters, and the party must find one who does — for '56.

The Case Story: Republican Senatorial Candidate Clifford Case got his 3,000 odd vote lead (he hasn't nailed down the Senatorship yet, because there may be a re-count), thanks to Joe McCarthy; and Case today is only a minority winner. This story, submerged by the metropolitan press, is a matter of official record in New Jersey.

A political unknown named Henry Krajewski ran on the ballot as the candidate of the "American Third Party." His only discernible plank was, "I'm for Joe McCarthy." He received, by official count, 35,194 votes. Our correspondent in Newark says that almost all of these votes were normally Democratic ones, from people who disliked Senatorial Democratic Candidate Howell because he had criticized McCarthy. About 14,300 of his votes were in Hudson County, traditionally a Democratic stronghold.

While these votes were cast under the label of a "party," actually there was no party organization. So, there was no way to get this vote to accept the strategy laid down by the anti-Case GOP leaders, who wanted all anti-Case people to vote for Howell, to save the Senate from the "shame of Case." Additionally, the count shows that former Congressman Hartley received 6,927 write-in votes — thus revealing that many Republicans also did not understand the above-mentioned voting strategy.

At any rate, the fact is that because of McCarthy sentiment, Case (even if he gets by a re-count) is only a "minority candidate".

Stay-At-Homes: There was a large "stay-at-home vote" this year — judging from quite a number of reports from politicians. A Wisconsin GOP congressman (himself successful) had examined the statistics carefully of his district and notes a stay-at-home vote of approximately 15 per cent of the normal. He ascribed it principally to farmer price dissatisfaction and/or disappointed McCarthyite feeling. He said other districts indicated about 20 per cent of the normal Republican voters stayed away from the polls, and that in his opinion, Governor Kohler's small majority would have been a heavy one if the Governor had made some pro-McCarthy statement. Similar reports come from Illinois, from Michigan and Nebraska, as well as New York and Connecticut. Correspondents in Illinois attribute the defeat of Meek, the GOP Senatorial candidate, to his failure to defend McCarthy and to call for the Bricker Amendment. The story goes that Meek was told to refrain from taking these stands during the campaign, by the White House; otherwise, he was warned, he would get no Presidential support or money.

It is impossible, until all the statistics are in and examined, to estimate the magnitude and specific effects of the stay-at-home voters. However, from figures received from the GOP National Committee and from the A.P., the following is an interesting over-all comparison with 1950, the last off-year election.

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In 1950, there were 69,565,450 registered voters; and of these 42,186,453 actually voted. In 1954, there were 74,879,146 registered voters; and of these 41,949,139 actually voted. In short, the stay-at-home voters increased by about 5½ million this year over 1950.

Chain Reaction: Yesterday Miss Anne Adams telephoned to tell us an interesting story from New York.

Two years ago, a friend sent her a one-year Christmas gift subscription to HUMAN EVENTS. A year later, as an expression of gratitude she sent one-year gift subscriptions to 10 of her friends. Last week, the subscriptions being about to expire, she telephoned each, asking for 10 gift subscriptions apiece — as she was herself doing. Six promised the full 10 apiece; two promised five apiece; the other two said "No." Net result, counting her own second batch of 10: 80 new subscriptions, all the result of a gift subscription two years ago to Miss Adams.

Why don't YOU start a similar chain? Two or more annual gift subscriptions will cost you $9.00 apiece; two or more six-months subscriptions, $5.00 apiece; two or more 3-month subscriptions, $2.50 each.

A gift card in your name will accompany the first issue of each Christmas subscription.

GOP'S New York Dilemma: It isn't too early to consider the dilemma New York Republicans will face in 1958 when the next gubernatorial nomination must be made. Inadequate discussion now means Republican entrapment then.

This year every Republican candidate for state office lost except Jacob Javits, who beat Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. by 176,000 for the Attorney-Generalship. If "the only proven statewide winner" among the Republican possibilities should be rejected for governor by the Republican state convention in 1958, one may be sure that the *New York Post* will cry "anti-semitism," as it did in October when an upstate political advertisement omitted Javits from its slate of endorsed Republican candidates. The leaders of the organization involved replied simply that they did not regard Javits as "a real Republican." Nevertheless, their associates sharply told them they had made a political blunder.

What will happen if Javits should win the governorship on the Republican ticket? He will have all the powers that Dewey has exercised for 12 years. He will wield them with even greater vigor than Dewey did and he will be effective because he is more ambitious for his ideas than for himself. Give Javits the power and he will immediately start to make over the state Republican party in his own image and in 1960 he will use all the power of New York state's 90 delegates to the Republican National Convention to nominate the most New-Dealish of the Republican presidential candidates.

Javits was elected to Congress in 1946 as a result of a coalition between the Liberal party and the Republican party in the heavily New-Dealish 21st Congressional District of New York City. The Liberal party was in the driver's seat; the nomination had to be given one of its own kind. All the Republican party got out of the deal was the assurance that on matters involving the organization of the House of Representatives, Javits would vote Republican.

The Liberal party was organized by people who broke away from the American Labor Party. From its beginning, this splinter party was Communist-influenced if not wholly Communist-dominated and that condition was entirely acceptable to its half million supporters before and during World War II. The break-away came when some members began to recognize political danger and personal unpopularity in the association. It should be understood, however, that on purely domestic issues, there is not now nor was there ever any vital difference between the measures advocated by the American Labor party and those supported by the Liberal party. In short, the future holds a big problem for the New York GOP.

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What $80,000 Could Have Done: President Eisenhower made more personal statements in favor of New Jersey Republican nominee Clifford Case than any other candidate. Reportedly, the Republican National Committee sent $80,000 into New Jersey, far more than into any other state. Well, the CIO-ADA darling won by 3,000 — subject to re-count.

The $80,000 probably could have elected three Senators — all of them genuine Republicans. An infinitesimal switch of the votes would have given victory to Cordon over Neuberger in Oregon, D'Ewart over Murray in Montana, and Harrison over O'Mahoney in Wyoming.

All three lost partly because of inability to raise campaign funds and partly because the President was giving his attention elsewhere.

In fact, $10,000 to each of the three probably would have done the trick, leaving $50,000 to save Michigan Republican Ferguson, another whose percentage of Republican votes is approximately the same as Case's percentage of New Deal votes.

Ferguson was up against a CIO-AFL machine which except for a Detroit Teamsters defection threw its entire facilities into the defeat of Ferguson. No drive was more thoroughly organized: house-to-house and factory-by factory. Not even the lowliest shop steward dared raise his voice for Ferguson. Every issue of the *CIO News*, the *United Automobile Worker* and other union organs from the first to the last page was dedicated to the election of New Deal candidates.

Meek in Illinois could have used part of that $80,000. He was denied financial help from the affluent Citizens for Eisenhower Committee until he knuckled under and agreed to vote according to orders from the White House, and even then he got precious little financial help.

Republican Ineptitude: If Roosevelt or Truman had found an official high in the Hoover Administration with a record of pro-Nazism equal to the pink tendencies of John P. Davies, the dismissal would have been made at the most dramatic moment politically — and with the maximum of fanfare and documentation.

The decision to fire Davies was made before the election — we happen to know — but was withheld until after election for fear of the charge: "Sordid politics!"

In the Harry Dexter White case, the New Deal columnists used this technique so skillfully that they made Attorney General Herbert Brownell the defendant, not the "Benedict Arnold Rasputin" in Henry Morgenthau's Treasury Department. And the incredibly incompetent White House strategy staff let them get away with it.

Ives and Labor: Irving Ives, both in the New York State Senate and the United States Senate played ball all the way with organized labor. When he ran for governor, he naively assumed he could get the support of a score or more of the big names among New York state labor leaders. He ended up without a single one. The best he could do from over the entire state was to obtain the names of 14 obscure chiefs of little locals.

The 1944 campaign should have taught the Dewey organization a lesson. In that campaign for the Presidency, the New York governor accepted the one-sided Wagner Act *in toto*. He promised that there would be no curbs whatever upon labor; he said not one word on labor throughout the campaign to which any union leader could object. In his Pittsburgh address, he implied that he would be a better friend of union leaders than Roosevelt had been. Yet when the chips were down, he could not get the public support of a single international union president — except "old reliable" Bill Hutchinson of the Carpenters Union who expected to be without competition for the post of Secretary of Labor.

This serves as another example of the fruitless policy of seeking votes impossible to obtain.

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